A

SERMON

Preached at

STOW,

IN THE

COUNTY of BUCKS,

On the Ninth of *September*, 1683.

BEING

The Day of Thankſgiving

Appointed by the

KING's DECLARATION,

FOR

Acknowledging God's great Mercy in Diſcovering and Defeating the late Treaſonable Conſpiracy againſt His Sacred *Majeſty*'s Perſon and Government.

By *THO: WAGSTAFFE*, M.A.

LONDON,

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UMI

PROV. I. 10,11,12,13,14,15,16.

10. *My Son, if Sinners entice thee, consent thou not.*
11. *If they say, Come with us, let us lay wait for Blood, let us lurk privily for the Innocent without cause.*
12. *Let us swallow them up alive, as the Grave, and whole, as those that go down into the Pit.*
13. *We shall find all precious substance, we shall fill our houses with spoil.*
14. *Cast in thy lot among us, let us all have one purse.*
15. *My Son, walk not thou in the way with them, refrain thy foot from their path.*
16. *For their feet run to evil, and make haste to shed blood.*

THat *Solomon* (by these words) did not chiefly intend to caution men against joyning with common Thieves and Robbers, against taking part with such who made Stealing their Trade, and lay by the High-way to kill men for their Mony; but that he had a further prospect to Thieves and Murderers of a more public nature; To such Combinations and

Confederacies as would pillage a Nation, and involve a Kingdom in Blood, ſeems not improbable for theſe following Reaſons.

1. Here is a ſet and continued diſcourſe, a thing earneſtly preſs'd and recommended for ſeveral Verſes together, which is unuſual in this Book, and perhaps there is not the like inſtance in the whole *Proverbs*; which ſhews, that the Matter here ſpoken of, is both of extraordinary weight, and alſo that there is ſome aptneſs and diſpoſition in men towards it, to be enſnar'd by it. Now though 'tis well to perſwade men from being common Rogues and Cut-throats, yet ſure there needs not much Cogency of Argument. The matter is plain and obvious, and the leaſt Proverbial Sentence ſeems to be ſufficient warning. Open and barefac'd miſchief needs not great Wiſdom to diſcover, nor much diſcourſe or vehemency to forewarn. But there are Villanies that have Cloaks and Covers, fair and ſpecious ſhews, which require Art to unrip and take off; And there are creeping and contagious Evils, which eaſily infect the inconſiderate and unwary; the unſtable and haſty are apt to ſwallow any Bait that is well diſguis'd. In theſe caſes therefore Caution is neceſſary, and ſure 'tis not a fruitleſs earneſtneſs to adviſe men to beware of joyning with thoſe who may pretend they are plotting for God, and

and conſpiring for Religion, when (in Truth) they are only *lurking for blood, and laying wait for ſpoil.*

2. Here is Caution againſt Enticements, *If Sinners entice thee.* And do common Thieves do this? do they go about to gain a Party, and make themſelves ſtrong by Numbers? this is the way to ruine themſelves, and to lay them open to diſcovery; a few are ſufficient for the purpoſes of ſtealing, and if they meet with Men of the ſame complexion, they eaſily unite, and there needs no great ſubtilty and contrivance to make them agree in the ſame common work; but Aſſociations are for the mighty Deſtroyers. The Government is not eaſily oppos'd, and Rebellions and Inſurrections, (how few ſoever the Contrivers are) muſt be the work of a Multitude. Men of this Character therefore are the *Sinners* that entice; They muſt have men to carry on their deſigns, and they have Agents and Emiſſaries in all parts of a Kingdom, to work upon the giddy, to ſeduce the unſettled or diſcontented. The great *Enticers* are the Prudent and Politic, that are skill'd in all the arts of Inſinuation; that are excellent at creating Fears and Jealouſies, whetting Diſcontents, and raiſing Storms in the minds of men; that can conjure up Dangers in the moſt merciful and orderly Government, and make men believe they are loſt

loſt and undone, when they are in the happieſt condition of any people in the World. Theſe then are *Enticers* to purpoſe, that can entice men out of their wits, that can make them believe Impoſſibilities and Contradictions, and give up their Faith to things, as irrational and unaccountable as any Fable or Romance. And to this may be added, That to joyn together in common Stealing, needs not, nor can have any ſuch cunning Methods. What Arguments can there be to make a man a Thief? What fair flouriſhes and pretences to win a man that hath any thing of Sobriety to their Company? When they go to rob, they do not tell one another, that they riſe to ſecure their Property, they fight for *Liberty*, and aſſociate in defence of Religion; but the buſineſs is plain and downright Villany. But Treaſon and Sedition may be ſmooth'd over, and there is art and contrivance to make men ſwallow *Rebellion*. The People of *Iſrael* might be told they were a Free People, that *Solomon* invaded their Liberties and Priviledges, that therefore they did but themſelves juſtice if they took the cauſe into their own hands and righted themſelves; that their King was a Favourer of Idolatry; that they were Gods People, and therefore ought to ſecure God's Rights as well as their own, and not ſuffer any Innovation to be made in Religion; that their taking up

Arms

Arms therefore would not be Rebellion, but a Spiritual work, a ſetting up God's Cauſe, and deſtroying his Enemies; That God gave the Land of *Canaan* only to thoſe that worſh'p'd him rightly and kept his Covenant, and that they were only the Perſons; that their King, and thoſe that adher'd to him had fall'n off from God, and therefore had forfeited all their propriety in the Government and the Land; That all the Right was devolv'd upon them the true Worſhippers, and they were (by Gods Donation) Heirs to the wicked and Idolatrous. And therefore in riſing againſt them, they did but take the beſt courſe they could to gain their own. Theſe or ſuch like ways of Enticement might be us'd by deſigning Men; and ſuch a cauſe will allow of a great many ſlights and politic Pretences, whereas downright Thievery will admit of none. Men cannot be perſwaded when they go to ſteal and kill, that they fight the Lords Battels, and deſtroy the wicked and Heathen in the Land. But Zeal and Conſcience, and ſanctified Pretences may be ſet up to draw men into Rebellion and Treaſonable Conſpiracies; and therefore 'tis more likely that ſuch were the Sinners that *Solomon* ſpeaks of, that entic'd men to confederate with them. The conjunction of Thieves is but a Knot of a few; but this is an Aſſociation, a League, a Conſpiracy of many Murderers.

3. Theſe

3. These Expressions seem to intimate the same thing; *Let us swallow them up alive as the Grave, and whole as them that go down into the Pit: We shall find all precious substance, we shall fill our Houses with spoil.*

These import greater mischief and cruelty, and greater gain than is usually agreeable to the State of Confederate Robbers; for though they may now and then murder men by the High-way, though they may kill men in their beds, yet what is this to swallowing men up as the Grave, which swallows up Kingdoms, and devours whole Generations? 'Tis Insurrections and Massacres that thus triumph in Blood. Every Murderer kills a man, but 'tis only rebellious Leagues, and treasonable Associations that have a stomach like the Grave, that always eat and devour, but are never glutted nor satisfied. Neither is it for half a dozen Villains to promise to themselves and their Associates such mighty success, as to swallow up all before them. But deep Confederacies that are numerous and strong, that have made a great part of the People; These may think to sweep a Kingdom, may make their Multitudes an Argument to invite others, may encourage themselves and their Party with the facility of their Enterprize, that they are able to swallow men that are alive, as the Grave does dead men; They shall easily seize them,

them, ſurprize them unawares, and the quick ſhall fall into their hands, as the Dead go into the Pit without ſtrugling, reſiſtance or oppoſition.

And then for that other branch, *We ſhall find all precious ſubſtance, we ſhall fill our Houſes with ſpoil.* Theſe are not the returns of common Robberies: Men by taking a Purſe, or breaking open Houſes, do not expect to lay a foundation of wealth or greatneſs, by ſuch means to enrich themſelves, and gain great Eſtates. But 'tis very profitable to fiſh in troubled Waters. The Common-wealth is a great Stake, and if it might be ſhar'd, would be a handſom ſupply for Avarice and Ambition. The Temple of *Solomon* (lately built) which being very coſtly, and therefore perhaps Idolatrous, the Spoils of it would be a competent morſel, and to be ſure to kill the Heir and take his Inheritance. To ſeize the Revenues of the Crown and Church, is a way Ambitious and Deſigning men may have *to find precious ſubſtance, and to fill their Houſes with ſpoil.*

4. Thoſe words immediately after the Text ſeem likewiſe to favour this Opinion, *Surely in vain the Net is ſpread in the ſight of any Bird; And they lay wait for their own blood, they lurk privily for their own lives:* that is, Thoſe bloody Attempts and Contrivances were in vain, they would not come to the iſſue the Plotters expected; for how

cloſe and privy ſoever they were manag'd and carry'd on. He (King *Solomon*) had knowledge of them, and in vain was the Net ſpread for him in his ſight; He knew their Devices and ſecret Machinations. So that at length the Miſchief they intended would fall on their own heads, their laying in wait would catch their own Bloods, and their lurking privily would turn to a Conſpiracy againſt their own lives; for (upon Diſcovery) the Law would lay hold of them, and they would be brought to exemplary Juſtice.

Theſe are the Reaſons, upon the account of which, I conceive, theſe Words of the Wiſe King had a main reſpect to Public Miſchiefs, to the Plots and Deſigns of wicked Men againſt him and his Government. And (if I may have leave to Conjecture) they may have a more immedate relation to the Rebellious Principles and Practices, firſt ſet on foot in the time of *David* his Father; for tho, after the defeat and death of *Abſalom*, the King return'd and govern'd the Kingdom in Peace, yet it is not probable that all the Seeds of *Sedition* were ſo ſoon extinguiſhed. A Rebellious Ferment once raiſed in a People, tho it may be calm'd and quieted, yet it is apt to ſtir again upon any occaſion or opportunity. The ſame Principles, and many of the Perſons were ſtill in being, and tho for

ſome

ſome time dormant, might again be quickned by Politic and diſcontented Perſons, and they might again be blown up to the ſame Commotions, by the ſame plauſible Pretences that *Abſalom* had uſed before. Theſe things *Solomon* ſeems to have an eye to, and is vigilant againſt, and therefore earneſtly preſſes his People not to give ear to any ſuch Inſinuations. And (this being ſo) the Text is a Caveat not to be entic'd nor enſnar'd by them, *My Son, if Sinners entice thee, conſent thou not.* *My Son,* is a Compellation of love and kindneſs, and denotes the Fatherly Affection he had for his People. The King here then (if this Interpretation hits the true meaning) exhorts all his loving Subjects not to entertain any mutinous and ſeditious Principles; to beware of thoſe Men that would tempt them into Leagues and Covenants of Blood and Rebellion. And to enforce this upon them, he tells them that the End of their Confederacies was only *Murder* and *Spoil*; and how fair ſoever they might ſeem, what allegations ſoever of Right and Juſtice they might make, they were but crafty Devices to intrap the incautelous, for in truth, *Their feet run to evil, and make haſt to ſhed blood.*

In diſcourſing of theſe Words I ſhall endeavour,

1. To repreſent them in a manner ſuited to our own Circumſtances.

2. To lay down the Iniquity of theſe Practices.

3. To enforce the Caution, That therefore we ought not to conſent, if we are entic'd to things of that Nature.

4. To lay down ſome Rules, as preventive Expedients to preſerve us from them.

1. To repreſent theſe Words in a manner ſuited to our own Circumſtances. The Incomparable Biſhop *Jewel*, in his Apology for the Church of *England*, when it had been objected by the *Papiſts*, That the *Proteſtants* wer turbulent Men, that they took away Scepters from Kings, that they arm'd the People, that they overturn'd Tribunals, that they laid aſide the Laws, that they broke in pieces mens Rights and Poſſeſſions, that they turn'd Kingdoms to popular States, &c. After a ſufficient deteſtation of all theſe things, and having ſaid, That the objecting them againſt the *Proteſtants* was ſuch a Calumny as was caſt upon Chriſt and his Apoſtles, Anſwers thus, **We give thanks to our God, whoſe Cauſe this is, that in all the Kingdoms, Dominions, Common-wealths, which have been added to the Goſpel, there is not ſo much as one Ex-*

Apol. pag. 74. *Nos eſſe homines turbulentos, Regibus Sceptra de manibus eripere, populum armare, Tribunalia evertere, Leges reſcindere, poſſeſſiones diſſipare, regna ad popularem ſtatum revocare.*

* Pag. 77. *Agimus enim Deo noſtro, cujus hæc ſolius cauſa eſt, gratias in omnibus regnis, ditionibus, Rebuſp. quæ ad Evangelium accesſerunt, nullum unquam adhuc hujuſmodi exemplum extitiſſe. Nullum enim nos regnum evertimus, Nullius ditionem aut jura minuimus, Rempub. nullam turbavimus. Manent adhuc ſuo loco, & avitâ dignitate Reges* Angliæ, Daniæ, Suetiæ, *Duces* Saxoniæ, *Comites* Palatini, &c. *omnes eodem jure, eodemque ſtatu quo fuerant antea vel potius quia propter Evangelium populum habent obſequantiorem multo meliore. Eant ſane in illa loca, ubi nunc Dei beneficio auditur Evangelium, ubi plus majeſtatis? ubi minus faſtus & Tyrannidis? ubi Princeps magis colitur? ubi Populus minus Tumultuatur? ubi unquam fuit publica Res; ubi Eccleſia Tranquillior?*

ample

ample of any such thing; for we have overturn'd no Kingdom, We have diminish'd no mans Dominion or Rights, We have disturb'd no Common-wealths: Hitherto they remain in their own Condition, and in their Ancient Dignity; The Kings *of* England, Denmark, Sweedland, *the Dukes of* Saxony, *the Counts* Palatine, *and other Protestant Principalities and Free Cities he there names. All these* (says he) *have the same Rights, and are in the same state they were before, or rather in a much better; because by reason of the Gospel they have their People much more Obedient. Let them go into those Places where now, through Gods Blessing, the Gospel is taught; Where is more Majesty? Where less Pride and Tyranny? Where is the Prince more Reverenc'd? Where are the People less Tumultuous? Where ever was the Common-wealth; where ever was the Church more quiet and peaceable?* Thus far Bishop *Jewel.* It is the Glory of the Reformation, that as it proceeded by the most peaceable and orderly Steps, so it held the most peaceable and orderly Doctrines. The first Reformers, neither in Opinion nor Practice, maintain'd any thing that was infestuous to Common-wealths, or injurious to Governours; and they justly pleaded, as the Primitive Christians did, That they always paid Subjection to the Powers set over them; that their Behaviour was meek and gentle; that they always comply'd with the Will of their Rulers,

Rulers, where they lawfully might, and where they might not they ſubmitted with patience, and always choſe rather to ſuffer, than to be turbulent, ſeditious and unquiet: This was the firſt Reformation, and this is the true Proteſtant Doctrine. But alas! ſince that Time there hath riſen up another Proteſtant Religion, and another Reformation; there have been a Generation of Men of violent and furious Principles, who were for Reforming by Deſtruction, whoſe Religion was all Zeal, (*i.e.*) *Fire* and *Sword*, and who inſtead of Obeying, were for Fighting and Rebelling for Conſcience ſake. We may remember when *Conſcience* took the Field, and marcht with Powder and Bullet, and brought a Proteſtant KING to the Block. And the Deliverance we this Day thank God for, manifeſts that theſe Principles are ſo far from being loſt, that they are heightned and improv'd. This is a degree above Rebellion, and the meaſures of *King-killing* are advanc'd very high when Blunderbuſſes are appointed to take off the Royal Family, and numbers of Confederates to follow the Blow. This Day therefore is the Text fulfill'd in our Ears, that there have been *Sinners* who have *entic'd*, who have ſaid, *Come with us, caſt in thy lot among us*, (i.e.) in plain Engliſh, *Let us joyn together in an Aſſociation, let us Covenant one with another, let us lurk privily for the Innocent without cauſe.*

cause. For the Innocent without Cause indeed! for what Cause had the King, and His Loyal Subjects given them, that they should pursue His Life, and thirst for their Blood? what mighty wrong had been done, that nothing but the sudden destruction of Him and His Royal Brother, could expiate and satisfie? This is not, this cannot be alledged. Our Soveraign (God be thanked) is a Prince of incomparable Mercy and Goodness; All the Nation feels His Influence and His healing Hand; His Enemies not only live by His Favour, but thrive also by His Grace and Bounty: Some of the Confederates themselves have by Him been advanced to great Honours and Fortunes. And are these the Qualities that must be hunted to Death? Are these the Wrongs for which his People must be stirr'd up to worry Him? Should a Heathen hear that the KING was to be Pistol'd, His Nobles murder'd, and His Kingdom rifled, he could not but conjecture, that he was a *Nero* at least, a Prince fierce and cruel; that he delighted in Oppression and Rapine; that he kill'd his Subjects for Sport and Triumph, and had done some unheard of Cruelties. But when Mildness is the most conspicuous part of His Temper; when His Mercy is thus far like God's, as to be *over all his Work*, when He is in truth, the Breath of our Nostrils, and the Delight

light of our Eyes; what could exaſperate and provoke, even the worſt Natures to ſuch direful methods of Execution? Nothing but the moſt fell and ſalvage Diſpoſitions, ſuch as have the names of Men, but the Tempers of Wolves and Tigers, could engage Men to conſpire to *ſwallow Him up alive as the Grave, and whole as thoſe that go down into the Pit.* This is the firſt repreſenting theſe Words accommodate to the occaſion.

2. The next is to lay down the Iniquity of theſe Practices; and this ſure needs no proof, it hath no ſubterfuge, evaſion, or excuſe. The Rebellious Spirits heretofore pretended the Face of Authority and a Parliamentary Power; but what is this to Plots and Inſurrections? they pretended to raiſe Men by the Kings Power, tho againſt His Perſon; and will His Politic Capacity extend likewiſe to authorize ſecret Devices and Treachery? They call'd their Forces the *King's Armies*, tho they fought againſt Him; and are theſe the King's Contrivances, and the Kings Aſſociations too, which were intended to murder Him, and overturn His Government? They then call'd the People out to fight the *Lords Battels*; but ſurely they will not call theſe the *Lord's Plots*, and the *Lord's Conſpiracies*. Theſe things are too obvious, and the moſt Cunning and Politic can never

never clap ſuch a Face and Diſguiſe on them, as ſhall make them appear otherwiſe than hideous and monſtrous. Our Saviour practis'd his own Religion the moſt exactly, and then his Apoſtles, and next after them the Primitive Chriſtians; all theſe ſuffer'd under the Iniquity of their Governours: And what do they all but practiſe and preach Patience, Meekneſs, Gentleneſs, Submiſſion and Obedience? They do not revile nor reſiſt Authority; they do not aſſociate together to pull down the Government, much leſs lay Plots to entrap the Lives of their Governours. *Suffering* and *Patience* was Goſpel then, and *Reſiſtance* and *Sedition* was Sin in thoſe days. But ſure we need not go to Religion to diſprove this, Common Honeſty will lay open its Vileneſs; ſuch Practices are without, not only the Example of any good Chriſtian, but of any indifferently honeſt Heathen. Ev'n *Turks* and *Jews* deteſt ſuch things: All Governments and all Commonwealths have abhorr'd Plots and Treacheries; and thoſe engaged in them have, by all ſorts of Men, been eſteem'd the Peſts of Government, and the Bane of all Society. To conſpire the death of any Man hath been always horrid and infamous; but to lurk privily for the Blood of Kings, and turn a Kingdom into ſlaughter, is a Miſchief of that magnitude, that we want

words to expreſs it. For as there are things of a tranſcendent Excellency which are too high to be pourtraited by Speech, and are better admir'd and conceiv'd than diſcourſed of; ſo there are likewiſe things of a contrary tranſcendency, Abominations not capable of Expreſſion, which are wicked even beyond words, and ſurpaſs deſcription, by reaſon of their Vileneſs. If therefore you would conceive, for I cannot expreſs, the Iniquity of thoſe Practices, Put your Thoughts into the moſt black and gloomy poſture, conceive an Action that a Jeſuit would ſtartle at, muſter up the bloody Villanies that Hiſtories afford us; remember *Ravilliac* that ſtob'd *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, reflect on the Holy League, when ſo many thouſand Proteſtants were butcher'd: Conſider the *Powder Treaſon*, which was to blow up the King and the Parliament; caſt into your minds the Groans and Cries of the maſſacred by the Rebels in *Ireland*; and to theſe add the lamentable Miſeries of our own Civil Wars. All theſe ſad and ghaſtly things put together, may give us ſome Character of the buſineſs before us; for all theſe perhaps were allotted for our Doom: And who can tell the Miſeries of a Kingdom without a Head, and Fury and Slaughter ranging in every corner of it? Who can expreſs the diſmal Conſequences, when a

Good

Good KING shall be taken off by salvage Villains, and His Loyal People left at the mercy of Cruel and Blood-thirsty Men?

3. Enforce the Caution, That therefore we are not to consent, if Sinners entice us to confederate in such Practices, *For their feet run to evil, and make haste to shed blood.* And this sure is Argument enough to hinder Men from being taken by such Enticements, for let the Proposals be never so large, the Means to accomplish it never so feazable, yet if they are to end in Blood, 'tis an amazing Discouragement; tho *precious substance* is to be found, and our Houses thereby to be *fill'd with spoil*, yet if they are to be got by Murder, it will stop any Man of but indifferent Principles from the Undertaking. And surely Assassinating a KING, and killing His Nobles and Magistrates, and turning a Kingdom into Blood, is Murder with a Witness. What Arguments the Principal Confederates might use to entice others, and what horrid Salvo's they might pick up for their Consciences, must be uncertain in such dark and secret Conspiracies: But it is certain that none of those Maxims of Rebellion, which in the late Times were spread abroad to seduce the Multitude, could have any colour of Pretence here; 'Twas then pretended, that the King levied War against his Parliament; that they fought not

againſt Him, but his evil and malignant Councellors, and deſign'd no more but to bring Him to his Parliament, the great Council of the Nation, and the King's beſt Councellor: That the King, tho he was *Singulis Major*, yet he was *Univerſis Minor*; tho he was greater than any Subject, yet he was leſs than all the People; that therefore the Repreſentative Body of the People (legally choſen) might call him to account for Mal-adminiſtration of Government: That the Power of the Kingdom was in that Collective Body, and they might give out Commiſſions, and raiſe Arms and Men for their defence. Theſe and ſuch like Maxims (firſt taken out of the Schools of the Jeſuits) were the Snares whereby unthinking Men were betray'd into Rebellion. But what can be pleaded in this Caſe? *Blunderbuſſes* and *Piſtols* are a ſure way indeed to take a King from evil Councellors; but when they are levell'd at his Coach, it can hardly be ſaid that they are not deſign'd againſt Him, but a malignant Party about him. Wicked People may combine together and endeavour an Inſurrection; but ſure they can't call Plotting *Lawful Authority*; they can't ſay, that Confederating Miſcreants are greater than the *King*, the Peoples Repreſentative, and have the Soveraign Power of the Kingdom. The truth is, here the Vizard is taken off and *Treaſon* appears bare-

bare-fac'd, and in its own Colours: And without any other Face or pretended Countenance, the thing is downright Killing the KING, and raiſing an Inſurrection in His Kingdoms. The Caution therefore (in this Caſe) is very forceable; for if the moſt plauſible Pretences for Rebellion have not Plea enough to tempt any honeſt Man, what Enticements muſt thoſe be which have none? The Concluſion therefore is very firm from theſe Premiſſes, *If Sinners entice thee* to ſuch Practices, *conſent thou not:* If theſe things be ſo very Evil, ſo very Bloody, then the adviſing not to joyn in them is an act, as of Conſcience towards God, ſo of Kindneſs towards Men. He that ſees a dangerous Precipice, which others are blindly falling into, and calls to them to beware, deſerves as well thanks for his love, as praiſe for his fore-ſight. It is therefore the Goodneſs, as well as Wiſdom of Diſcerning Princes, when they find ſubtle and deſigning Men buſie in perverting and drawing away their People; to forewarn them of the Miſchief, to lay open their Baits, to uncover their ſecret and lurking Deſigns, that thoſe who have not abilities to conſider the depth and myſtery of ſuch Arts, ſhould not unwarily be taken and enſnar'd by them to their own damage. This ſeems to be the meaning of the words of the Text, the Caution King *Solomon* gives to his

People

People against confederating with *Men of Blood*. And this is one end of His Majesties *Declaration*, discovering the Devices of Crafty and Wicked Men, that so His Subjects might not be tempted by any Pretences that Cunning and Designing Men might make to draw them in; which evidences as well his Affections to his People, as Care to preserve his own Person and Government: And it is an Instance of his Fatherly Care to forewarn his People from swallowing down any Enticements of that Nature, from entring into such Company, whose Converse and Behaviour is of so dark and bloody a Character; And it is our duty, not only in Conscience toward God, not only in Allegiance and strict Duty and Justice; but in gratitude likewise to our King, to be extremely cautious of all such Insinuations, of all Devices that would draw us into Blood, Sedition, or Rebellion. Which that we may the better do, we may consider,

4. Some Rules and Directions, as Expedients preventive of such Confederacies and such Practices.

1. *Be not over-bold and ready to Censure the Government*. This is a Duty we owe to one another, much more to the Government; and as entertaining the fairest Thoughts of Men, and of their Actions, contributes exceedingly to the quiet of Neighbourhood, so using the same towards

towards our Governours, would be an excellent Expedient for Civil Peace: And certainly the height of their Station, and difficulty of their Work, the multiplicity of the Affairs of Governours ſhould challenge from us a candid and favourable Conſtruction of their Actions. When the Wiſeſt do often miſcarry in the conduct of little Matters, when we often commit Diſorders and Errors in the Government of our Private Families; do we think that the Rule of a Kingdom, and the great Buſineſs of a Nation, can be always manag'd like the Kingdom of God, without the leaſt Miſtake or Fault? 'Tis therefore monſtrous and impious Diſingenuity, to load every Miſcarriage of State, with Reproach, Bitterneſs, and foul Language: And 'tis much worſe yet, to call thoſe Miſtakes, which are the beſt Rules. The Art of Governing is an abſtruſe thing, the Influences and Effects of it are like the Hand of a Watch, viſible to all; but the way whereby theſe are mov'd and convey'd, are, like the Spring and Wheels, ſecret, and not diſcern'd by any, but thoſe that know the Machin. And yet there are, and always have been, a ſort of Men, who have neither Opportunities nor Faculties to dive into the Myſteries of State, to comprehend the Adminiſtration of Public Affairs; who notwithſtanding are always Cenſuring and

and Accuſing the Government; always crying out, *There is Corruption Above, and Things are not well carry'd.* Theſe Men are fit Tools in the hands of Ambitious and Politic Men, and may be turn'd to what purpoſes they pleaſe. They are eaſily perſwaded to believe their own Cenſures; firſt themſelves think hardly of the Government, and then will eaſily ſwallow the worſt Repreſentation Ill men can make of it. This is a Temper therefore juſt ripe for *Sedition*; for 'tis Natural for men to endeavour an Alteration, or Reformation of what they think they are capable to mend. It is therefore neceſſary for the quiet living under any Government, that this Cenſorious Humor be kept down: For *Rebellion* hath its degrees, firſt Cenſure the Government, then believe our own Cenſures, then hate it, then endeavour to overturn it. Deſtroy therefore this Monſter in the *Embrio*, kill Rebellion in the Seed: Let us do (what is very reaſonable), never undertake to cenſure what we do not comprehend; Let us believe well of the Government, 'till we have plain Reaſon to do otherwiſe; Let us make but the ſame allowances to the Actions of Princes in their Adminiſtrations, as we would have to our own in our ſmall Affairs, and then what Spots and Blemiſhes ſoever foul and malicious Eyes may ſpye, the Government (in its whole frame

frame and management) will appear to us beautiful and admirable.]

2. Which is neer of Kin to the former, *Have a care of entertaining unreasonable Fears and Jealousies.* These have been the Incendiaries which for many years have inflam'd the Nation; and these are the Tools Designing Men have wrought with, to unsettle mens Minds and make them Mutinous. It is somewhat strange, that the same methods of Deceit should continue so long, that a Nation should be near twice Ruining in the memory of Man by the same Stratagems. *Jealousies* and *Fears* were the Cry of the late sad Times; and have we not yet suffer'd enough by such Insinuations? shall we again be tempted to swallow that Bait, which already (in our memory) hath spilt so so much Blood, and made such havock of *English* men? Let us but reflect upon the Tragedies it acted, what Miseries have thereby been brought upon a Distracted People, and it will certainly make us wary, how we again are led away by such Devices. When such things are offer'd and obtruded, 'twould make any Considering man suspect some lurking Mischief; that those Men had some Design upon the Government, who would endeavour so fouly to represent it. If therefore we would have our *Fears* work rightly, let us be afraid of

such Temptations. The Mischiefs and Consequences of a Rebellious War have sufficiently evidenc'd, that we have fear'd where no Fear was, that the means we took to release our Fears, brought us truly under those Mischiefs we were before only jealous of. And what are we now afraid of? Do we fear the Alteration of the Government, and the Subversion of the establish'd Laws? And is *Sedition* and *Rebellion* a Remedy? Will being Tumultuary under the Government release us? This is but to do the Thing we fear, to create Real Evils for fear of Imaginary ones, actually to destroy the Government and the Laws, for fear only lest they should be destroy'd. Our Fears therefore are on the wrong side, and we ought as much (at least) to fear, lest by any *Seditious* and *Mutinous Practices* Desolation be brought upon the Nation. Our Fears of Injury to the Government and Laws, should work in us to be Peaceable under both; for if we are really afraid of any such Inconveniences, 'tis sure but reasonable for us, not to contribute any thing thereto by our own Behaviour, otherwise it will be thought, that we do not purely Resent the Ruine of the Laws and Government, only we take it Ill that any Body else should Ruine them beside our Selves.

3. *Beware*

3. *Beware of Imprudent and Intemperate Zeal.* This is a Weed of Religion that spoils the whole Crop: A Tare that not only corrupts, but blasts the whole Field. For Religion is, of it self, the most calm and quiet thing in the whole World; but when 'tis heated by *Disorderly Zeal*, 'tis the most Tempestuous. Men who measure the strength of their Christianity, only by the warmth they have for some Opinions, are the soonest fired of any People, and will break through all Bounds to prosecute the things they are Zealous for. If therefore the Government oppose or discountenances those Opinions, the hot Zealot is uneasie and fretting, the Laws cannot hold him, and he is ready (upon every turn) to attempt something for the Security of Religion. The Cause he undertakes for, he thinks is good, and this will sanctifie the use of Means, which otherwise upon other accounts would not be so warrantable. The Killing a man, not Judicially Condemn'd, is Murder; but when *Phineahs* without Trial and Form of Law, out of Zeal to God's Glory kill'd *Zimri* and *Cozbi*, it was his Righteousness and his Crown: so as those Ways which are otherwise Illegal, yet if they be for Defence of Religion, and for Prevention of Idolatry, they are not only justifiable, but Heroically good.

Not now to consider that Case of *Phineahs* and the state of the *Jewish* Zealots, who acted by peculiar and appropriate measures, by special Commission, when they were under the immediate Government of GOD, which cannot now be pretended: We shall find besides sufficient Reason to be careful of sucking in any such Principles, if we consider, That, if this were admitted, *Religion* would be the greatest Fire-brand in the World, and serve for little use else, but to disturb Common-wealths, and set Men together by the Ears; for 'tis but for some Cunning men to perswade the People, That their *Religion* is in danger, that *Idolatry* is coming in upon them, and then they may Plot and Conspire, and Associate for Insurrections and Commotions, and do any thing; for their Cause is the Cause of God, and their Earnestness in it is their Vertue and Glory. And in truth, there is scarcely any thing so bad and barbarous, which hath not already been acted under this Principle. And now is there nothing else in Religion, but *Zeal*? Are not *Peace*, *Humility*, *Patience*, *Obedience to Government*, are not these principal Parts of it? and must these be eaten up by that which is only an Appendage, and no Duty commanded for it self? These are the substantial Parts of Christianity, and *Zeal* (at the best) is but the Guard

Guard of it; and 'tis very unreasonable, that what God order'd for Defence of these things should be the greatest means of Destroying them. 'Tis true indeed, every Man (in his station) is oblig'd to promote God's Glory and Christian Religion; but then it is by those Ways only which Religion allows. The Apostles were as Zealous for *Christianity* as any, and Advanc'd it more than ever any since; but the Ways they took were *Purity* and *Peace*, *Meekness* and *Suffering*. Never any Tumults and Rebellions heard of, 'till *Zeal* became extravagant and over-grown; and not only grew too strong for, but swallowed up all the rest of the Vertues: And if these Practices were warranted by Christianity, if Men might make use of Tumultuary and Seditious Ways, to secure or set up Religion, what a woful Condition would a Christian Prince be in, whose Kingdom was divided into Factions, and where are several Parties of differing Perswasions in Religion: For all think themselves in the Right, and all others in the Wrong, and commonly call the contrary Opinions, *Superstition*, *Idolatry*, and *Antichristianism*. Now if all these think their Zeal for their respective Ways obliges them to all possible Means to set them up, and destroy the contrary, and if they are Luke-warm if they do not do it.

If

If *Papists* may hire *Ruffians* to Pistol the KING, if he do not set up *Images* and *Transubstantiation*: If *Presbyterians* may fight against him, if he do not pull down *Bishops*, and place in their stead *Classis's* and *Lay-Elders*: If *Independents* may cut of his Head, if he do not root out the Idolatry of the *Surplice* and the Dagon of the *Common-Prayer*, and enact Laws for the Congregational Way: If the *Quakers* may deny him and testifie against him, if he do not abolish all other Ways, and set up *Enthusiasm* and *New Lights*. In this Case what can a King do? 'Tis impossible to set up more than One, and then all the rest are to be Troublesom and Vexatious, to become his Enemies, and to pursue him as an Adversary to Truth. I say therefore, That if *Christianity* did warrant such things, it would be look'd upon as the *Make-bate* of the World; It would be esteem'd, what its Enemies represented it, a most pestilent Heresie, and all Governours would use their utmost to Root it out of their Kingdoms, as utterly inconsistent with the Quiet and Peace of them. Whereas in truth there is nothing more the Interest of Governours, than to settle *Christianity* among the People, because there is nothing more governable than a good Christian, nothing more Orderly and Peaceable

able than the measures of Religion; but then it is Religion, not acted by furious and bitter Zeal, but by its own mild and sober Principles.

4. *Be not over-fond and hasty of joyning with any Dissenting Party.* Here I must premise, That I do not lay this PLOT upon any particular Party of Dissenters, nor desire to insinuate, that They (as Dissenters) are ingag'd in it. God forbid that things of this Nature should be charg'd upon any but those that are found Guilty: But as King JAMES, speaking of the *Powder Treason*, says, *That it was only plotted by Papists, and They only lead thereto by a preposterous Zeal, for the advancement of their Religion.* Upon which account the Parliament next sitting us'd all means of Trial, to know if there were any more of that mind left in the Country. And he saith, *That the Oath of Allegiance was Ordain'd for making a difference between the Civilly obedient Papists, and the Perverse Disciples of the Powder Treason.* And thus far this is applicable, That this horrid Plot was contriv'd by Men who favour'd their Way; that there were no less than Three of their Teachers actually engag'd in it; that the Chief and Principal Plotters had Expectations of great Strength and Supply from them. Now although it is not reasonable, that the

Prem. to Apol.

Apol. King James's Works, pag. 265.

Faults

Faults of ſome ſhould be tranſlated to a Whole Party; yet this ſhould make every Conſcientious Man very jealous of himſelf, carefully examine whether his Practices have any ſuch tendency; whether there hath been any juſt Occaſion given for Contriving men to have ſuch Expectations from them; and if there hath, then ſpeedily to alter them, and give ſuch Teſtimonies of Loyalty, as the Government may not ſuſpect, nor the Sedicious hope for any ſuch thing from them. I do not deſire to reflect, nor would lay an Aſperſion, eſpecially upon a Whole-Party, for that is to Scandalize by Whole-Sale; but I hope every Good man will be careful of theſe following Doctrines, which were broach'd by thoſe who Diſſent from the *Church of England:*

Knox. *Hiſt.* pag. 372. *Princes for juſt Cauſes may be Depos'd.*

Id. Ep. *to* Engl. *and* Scot. fo. 77. *If Princes be Tyrants againſt God and his Truth, their Subjects are freed from their Oaths of Obedience.*

Buchanan. *de Jure Regni,* p. 13. *It is in the Power of the People to give the Dominion to whom they will.*

Ibid. p. 40. *It were well if Rewards were appointed by the People for ſuch as ſhould kill Tyrants, as commonly there is for thoſe who kill Wolves or Bears, or catch their Whelps.*

Ibid. p. 62. *The People may Arraign their Prince.*

Pag. 70. *The Miniſters may Excommunicate him; and he*

he that by Excommunication is caſt into Hell, is not worthy to enjoy any Life upon Earth.

It is lawful to Kill wicked Kings and Tyrants. Goodman p. 99. 103. & alibi. *The Subjects did kill the Queens Highneſs* Athaliah; Jehu *kill'd the Queens Majeſty,* Jezabel; Elias (*being no Magiſtrate*) *kill'd the Queens Majeſties Chaplains,* Baal's *Prieſts. Theſe Examples are left for our Inſtruction; where this Juſtice is not executed, the State is moſt Corrupt.*

When Magiſtrates do ceaſe to do their Duties, Ibid. 180, 184, 210. & alibi. (i. e. *in Depoſing and Killing Kings*) *the People are as it were without Officers, and then God giveth the Sword into their hands, and he himſelf is become immediately their Head; for to the Multitude a portion of the Sword of Juſtice is committed; from the which no Perſon, King, Queen, or Emperour* (*being an Idolater*) *is exempt; He muſt dye the Death. The People* (Numb. 25.) *did hang up certain of their Heads and Captains, Which ought to be for a perpetual Example of their Duty in the like defection from God, to hang up ſuch Rulers as ſhall draw them from him.*

If neither the Inferiour Magiſtrates, nor the greateſt part of the People will do their Duties, then the Miniſter muſt Excommunicate ſuch a King; any Miniſter may do it againſt the Greateſt Prince. God will ſend the reſt of the People (*which are willing to do their Duty, but not able*) *ſome* Moſes *or* Othoniel.

If they know any Jonathan, *they must go to him to be their Captain; and he ought not to refuse them.*

Goodman, pag. 139. *If Magistrates without fear transgress Gods Law, and command others to do the same, they have lost that Honour and Obedience, which otherwise their Subjects ow'd them; and ought no more to be taken for Magistrates, but to be examin'd, accus'd, condemn'd and punish'd, as private Transgressors.*

Obed. p. 110. *Quoted by Bishop* Bancroft *in Dangerous Positions.* *By the Word of God (when others will not do it) a Private man having some special inward Call, may kill a Tyrant, as* Moses *did the* Egyptian, *as* Phineahs *the Leacherous, as* Ahud *did King* Eglon: *or otherwise a Private man may do so, if he be commanded, or permitted by the Commonwealth.*

Perhaps by this time you may think I am quoting the *Jesuits*, and picking *King-killing* Principles out of their Books; and indeed the Doctrines are so very like, they cannot easily be distinguished. But these are the Positions of *Knox*, *Buchanan*, *Goodman*, Famous Leaders and Setters up of the *Presbyterian* Discipline: and a man would imagine the present Plot was fetch'd from these Authors, the Doctrine and the Practice do so exactly agree; and many Doctrines of the same Nature were publish'd and practis'd in the late Times. It

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is to be hoped, that many of our preſent Diſſenters do not ariſe to the height of theſe Opinions; however this Doctrine and this Behaviour too coming from men of their Way, would make every good Man very well conſider before he aſſembles with them. And in truth All Diſſenters of every kind (as might eaſily be made appear) when they come to ſtate the meaſures of Obedience, are very looſe and ſlippery, very Injurious to Princes, and ſuch as diminiſh the Rights of Government: And therefore,

5. *Be Conſtant and Devout in the Communion of the Church of* England, *as it is eſtabliſh'd by Law.* It is the peculiar glory of this Church, that it never hath either by Doctrine or Practice, in the leaſt encourag'd or countenanc'd any thing tending to *Treaſon, Sedition* or *Rebellion.* Men of this Communion have been eminent Sufferers for, but never Oppoſers of Lawful Authority. Here Obedience to Government is taught by the ſame Meaſures it was by our Saviour, by his Apoſtles, and by the Primitive Chriſtians. And this is ſo very obvious, that the worſt of her Enemies, who have loaded her with other Contumelies, could never yet have the face to charge her with *Rebellion* and *Reſiſtance of Authority.* Here therefore let us faſten our ſelves, and we are

ſecure from all Temptations of this kind; and it is impoſſible that any Man, ſo long as he continues in the Communion of the Church of *England*, ſhould be a Mutineer or a Traytor. Let us conſult both the former, and the modern Arts of Diſturbance, and we ſhall find that Ambitious men never thought to make a Game here; they always look'd upon it as a fruitleſs Attempt to practiſe upon Men of theſe Principles, but the ways have been firſt to divide the Church, to withdraw Men from her Communion, and then they hop'd (in time) to work them to their Purpoſes, and to bring them to make Head againſt the Government. Were Men but united in this Communion, there would be no room left for *Rebellion*, no Inſtruments for Deſigning Men to work upon; All the Pleas of fighting for Religion, of reſiſting the Magiſtrate under the cover of *Conſcience* would ſoon be at an end. Let us all therefore heartily embrace this; Let us be uniform to the Tenents and Doctrines, as well as to the external Adminiſtration of the Church of *England*; Let us as well be the Sons of it in mind, as in outward Conformity: And there cannot (in humane meaſures) be a better Expedient to preſerve us from all Turbulent and Seditious Enticements.

6. Let us be ſincere in the performance of the purpoſes of this Day. Let us heartily give Thanks to Almighty GOD for this Deliverance of our Gracious Soveraign, His Royal Brother, His Loyal Subjects and His Kingdoms, from the horrid Attempts and Conſpiracies of Wicked Men: And this, (if we do it Conſcientiouſly) will certainly reſcue us from all kind of Diſloyal Thoughts. He that (as he ſhould) thanks God for the KING's Deliverance, cannot himſelf adminiſter to his Diſturbance, except he prays like a *Phariſee*, with a devouring mind. What greater Hypocriſie, than to pour out our Thankſgiving to God for diſcovering the Contrivances againſt the Government, and at the ſame time to have mutinous and ungovernable Inclinations? This is to mock God, and we pray for one thing and wiſh for another. Let our Minds therefore go with our Prayers, and if it doth not find us, it will make us Faithful to the Government; for Prayer is of a transforming nature, and if we are juſt to God and our ſelves in it, it will make us of the ſame Nature and Complexion, our Prayers will ſlide into our Practices, and we ſhall live as we pray. Let us all therefore (as we have the greateſt Reaſon) from the bottom of our Hearts, return our Thankfulleſt Acknowledgments to Almigh-

Almighty GOD for his Infinite Goodneſs, that, by his good Providence, hath kept our KING, His Royal Brother, and our Nation, from becoming a Prey to Bloody and Ravenous Men. Let us do this in the ſincerity of our Souls, and then as for the preſent it winds up our Thoughts in contemplation of the Divine Mercy; ſo it will for the future influence our Lives. As it now frames us to be Thankful to GOD; ſo (if we are not Hypocrites) it will make us Loyal to the KING.

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SERMONS lately printed for *Walter Kettilby*.

1. A *Discourse to prove the strongest Temptations* conquerable *by* Christians; *in a Sermon preached before the* Lord Mayor, *Jan.* 14. 167$\frac{6}{7}$.
2. *The* Spirit of Enthusiasm, *exorcis'd in a Sermon preached before the* University of Oxford, *on* Act Saturday, *July* 11. 1680.
3. Peculium Dei: *A Discourse about the* Jews, *as the* Peculiar People of God; *in a Sermon preached before the* Aldermen *and* Citizens *of* London, *Febr.* 6. 168$\frac{8}{9}$.
4. *The* True Notion of Perfecution, *stated in a Sermon preached at the Time of the late Contribution for the* French Protestants.
5. *A Sermon preached before the* Lord Mayor *at* Bow Church, *Jan.* 30. 168$\frac{2}{3}$.
6. The Moral Shechinah; *Or a Discourse of Gods Glory, in a Sermon preached at the last* Yorkshire Feast, *June* 11. 1682.

All Six by *George Hicks*, D.D.

Profecution no Perfecution; *Or the Difference between Suffering for* Disobedience *and* Faction, *in a Sermon preached at* Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, *March* 22. 1681.

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The Modern Pharisees, *shewing the Principles of the present* Jesuits *and* Puritans, *to be of the same evil Influence with the Ancient* Pharisees. *Both by* Nath. Bisbie, *D.D.*

Dr. Calamy's *Sermon preached before the* L. Mayor *at* Bow-Church, *May* 29. 1682.

Mr. Kidder's *Sermon, preached before the* Lord Mayor, *July* 16. 1682.

Dr. Fowler's *Sermon, preached at the* Assizes *at* Glouceſter, *Aug.* 7. 1681.

Mr. Young's *Sermon, preached before the* Lord Mayor, *Febr.* 4. 1682.

Mr. Hopkin's *Sermon, preached before the* Lord Mayor, *Sept.* 3. 1683.

Mr. Foxe's *Sermon, preached at the* Herefordshire-Feaſt, *July* 3. 1683.

The Originals of Rebellion; *Or,* The end of Separation; *in a Sermon preached* Jan. 30. 1682.

The Rebellious City Deſtroyed; *being an Anniverſary Sermon in memory of the Dreadful Fire of* London, *Sept.* 2. 1666. *Preached* 1682.

Loyalty Proteſting againſt Popery, *and* Phanaticiſm Popiſhly Affected, *in a Sermon preached* Nov. 5. 1682. *both by* William Wray, *M.A.*

Ahitophel's Policy Defeated; *in a Sermon preached on the Thanksgiving-Day,* Sept. 9. 1683.

Samaritaniſm Reviv'd; *in a Sermon preached by* Luke Milbourne *on the late Thanksgiving-Day,* Sept. 9. 1683.

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